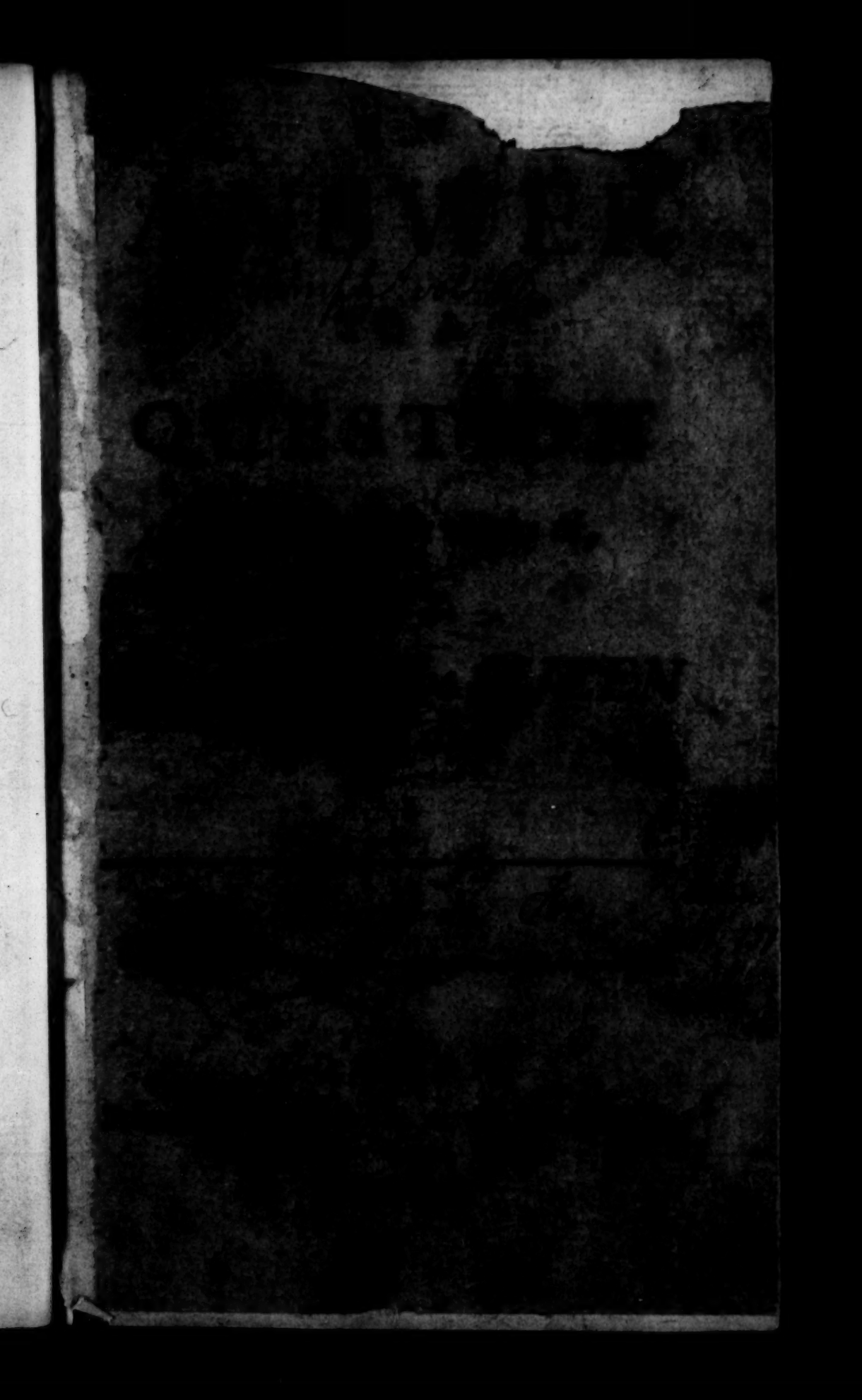

AN ANSWER TO A QUESTION, &c.

THAT we are to have a Peace, or, That the Peace is made, What ſort of Peace, or How it has been brought about; theſe are Queſtions the World begins to have done with, they have been ſo much, ſo often, and to ſo little purpoſe banded about, and toſs'd like a Shuttlecock, from one Party to another; the Parties themſelves begin to want Breath to rail and throw Scandal. *Roper* and *Ridpath*, like two *Tom T---men*, have thrown Night-Dirt at one another ſo long, and grop'd into ſo many Jakes's up to their Elbows to find it, that they ſtink now in the Noſtrils of their own Party. They are become perfectly nauſeous to read; the Nation is ſurfeited of them, and the People begin to be tired

with ill uſing one another. Would any tolerable Face appear upon things, we might expect the People would be inclined to be eaſie; and were the Eyes of ſome Great Men open, they may ſee this was the Opportunity they never had before, to make the Nation eaſie, and themſelves ſafe. The main thing which agitates the Minds of Men now, is the Proteſtant Succeſſion and the Pretender. Much Pains have been taken on both ſides to amuſe the World about this remaining Diſpute; one ſide to make us believe it is ſafe, and the other to convince us it is in Danger. Neither ſide hath been able to expatiate upon the Part they affirm. Thoſe who ſay, the Proteſtant Succeſſion is ſecure, have not yet ſhewn us any Step taken ſince theſe New Tranſactions, for its particular Security. Thoſe who ſay it is in danger, have not ſo clearly determined even among themſelves, from what particular Head of Publick Management that Danger chiefly proceeds. Both theſe Uncertainties ſerve to perplex us, and to leave the thing more undetermined than conſiſts with the publick Eaſe of the Peoples Minds. To contribute ſomething to that Eaſe, and bring thoſe whoſe Place it is, to conſider of Ways to make the People eaſie in this Caſe, this Work is

made

made Publick. Possibly the Question pro-pounded may not meet with a Categorical Answer. But this is certain, it shall shew you more. Directly what is the chief Question which the substance of Things before us is like to turn upon; and to which all our Questions seem to Tend. Were the great Difficulty of the Succession brought to a narrow Compass, tho' we might spend fewer Words about it, we should sooner come to a direct Answer. Before I come to the Great and chief Question upon which this Affair so much seems to Turn, it seems needful to put the previous Question upon which so much Debate has been among us, and let that be Examined. This previous Question is this: Is there any real Danger of the Protestant Succession? Is there any Danger that the Pretender shall be brought in upon us? Is there any Danger of Popery, and Tyranny by Restoring the Son, *as they call him*, of Abdicated King *James*? This is the previous Question, as we may now call it. It is well known that there are some People among us, who are so far from allowing that there is any such Danger, as the said Question mentions, that they will have it be a Token of Disaffection to the Government to put the Question; and are for loading whoever shall

offer

offer to Start such a Question, with Characters, and Patry-Marks odious to good Men; such as Incendiary, Promoter of Discontents, Raiser of Faction, Divider of the People, and the like: Names which the Writer of these Sheets, at the same time, both contemns and abhors. He cannot see that he is any Enemy to the Queen, in Inquiring as diligently as possible, whether there are any Attempts to Depose Her, or dangerous Prospects of bringing in the hated Rival of Her Glory and Dominion. It is so far from that, that it is apparently the Duty of every true Subject of Her Majesty, to Inquire seriously, whether the publick Peace, the Queen's Safety, Her Throne, or Her Person is in any Danger from the wicked Design of Her, and Her Peoples Enemies. Wherefore, and for the joint Concern every Protestant *Britain*, has in this thing; I shall make no Difficulty, plainly and seriously to State, and to Answer this previous Question, (*viz.*) Whether there is any Danger of the Protestant Succession, from the present Measures, and from the present People concern'd? I am not ignorant of what has been said by some, to prove that the present Ministry cannot be suspected of having any View to the Pretender in any of their Measures. The best

beſt Reaſon which I have ſeen given upon that Subject, is, that it is not their Intereſt; and that as we have not found them Fools that are blind to their own Intereſt; that either do not underſtand, or purſue it. This we find handled ſundry ways, by ſundry Authors, and very much Inſiſted upon as a Foundation for us to build upon. We ſhall give our Thoughts upon it with plainneſs, and without Fear, or Favour. Good Manners requires we ſhould ſpeak of the Miniſtry with all due regard to their Character and Perſons. This is a Tract, deſign'd to Inquire ſeriouſly of a Weighty and Eſſential, not a trifling Thing, which requires but a trifling Examination; nor ſhall it be handled here with Satyr and Scurrility. We Approve neither of the Flatteries of one ſide, or the Inſultings of the other. We ſhall readily and moſt willingly Joyn with thoſe who are of Opinion, that it is not the Intereſt of the Miniſtry to be for the Pretender; and that the Miniſtry are not blind to, or careleſs of their own Intereſt; and Conſequently, that the Miniſtry cannot be for the Pretender. This I hope may be called a direct Anſwer. When I ſay, *Cannot*, I muſt not, be underſtood potentially, that they have no Moral Capacity; But they cannot without ſuch Inconſiſtencies,

sistencies, Contradictions and Improbable things happening in, which render it highly Irrational, so much as to suppose it of them. To shut the Door against any possibility of Cavil, It may be needful also to take it with us as we go, what we mean by the Words *be for* the Pretender; and this can be no otherwise understood, than to have a Design, however remote, and upon whatever Views to bring him in to possess the Throne of these Kingdoms. The matter then being laid down thus, as sincerely and plainly as possible; we come to the Question point-blank, and think it our Duty to say with the greatest Sincerity, that we do not believe the Ministry are in any Kind, or with any Prospect near, or remote, Acting for, or with a Design or View to bring in the Pretender. Having granted this, we must however, to prevent any Breaking in by way of Cavil on one Hand, or Triumph on the other; subjoyn immediately, that we do not in the least Grant by this, that the Protestant Succession is in no Danger, even from several of the Measures now taken in the World. It is far from any Reflection upon the Ministry, to say, that however they may Act upon a right sincere Principle for the Protestant Succession in all they do, which, as above we

We profeſs to believe. Yet that many of the Tools they make uſe of, are of another Make, and have no Edge to cut any other way; no Thoughts to move them towards any other End; no other Center, which they can have any Tendency to; that the Pretender's Intereſt is the Magnet, which draws them by its ſecret Influence, to point to him as their Pole; that they have their Aim at his Eſtabliſhment here, and own it to be their Aim: And as they are not Shy to profeſs it among themſelves; ſo their Conduct in many things makes it ſufficiently publick. This is not meant as any Reflection upon the Miniſtry, for making uſe of ſuch Men: The late Miniſtry did the ſame, and every Miniſtry will, and muſt Employ Men ſometimes, not as they always Joyn with them in their politic Principles; but as either the Men are found uſeful in their ſeveral Employments, or as the Miniſtry may be under other Circumſtances, which makes it Neceſſary to them to Employ them. Nor, as the *Review* well enough obſerv'd, does it follow that *becauſe the Miniſtry have Employ'd, or Joyn'd with* Jacobites *in the publick Affairs, that therefore they muſt have done it with a* Jacobite *Principle.* But let the Miniſtry Employ theſe Men by what Neceſſity, or upon what

Occaſion they will, tho' it may not follow that the Miniſtry are therefore for *the Pretender*, yet it does not alſo follow that there is no Danger of the Proteſtant Succeſſion from the Employing thoſe ſort of People: *For what if the Queen ſhould Die?*

The Miniſtry, it is hoped, are Eſtabliſhed in the Intereſt of their Queen and Country; and therefore it has been Argued, that ſuppoſing the Miniſtry had the Pretender in their Eye, yet that it is Irrational to ſuggeſt that they can have any ſuch View during the Life of Her preſent Majeſty. Nay, even thoſe profeſt *Jacobites*, who we ſpoke of juſt now, cannot be ſo ungrateful to think of Depoſing the Queen, who has been ſo Bountiful, ſo Kind, ſo exceeding Good to them, as in ſeveral Caſes to ſuffer them to be brought into the Management of Her own Affairs, when by their Character they might have been thought Dangerous, even to Her Perſon; thus Winning and Engaging them by Her Bounty, and the Confidence that has been plac'd in them, not to Attempt any thing to Her prejudice, without the moſt Monſtrous Ingratitude, without flying in the Face of all that Senſe of Honour and Obligation, which it is poſſible for Men of common Senſe to entertain.

And it can hardly be thought, that even Papists themselves under the highest possessions of their Religious Zeal, can Conquer the Native Aversions they must have to such abominable Ingratitude, or to think of bringing in the Pretender upon this Protestant Nation, even while the Queen shall be on the Throne. But tho' this may, *and some doubt that also*, tye up their Hands during the Queen's Life, yet they themselves give us but small Reason to expect any thing from them afterwards; and it will be hard to find any body to Vouch for them then. These very *Jacobites, Papists*, and profest Enemies to the Revolution may be supposed upon these Pretentions to be Quiet, and offer no Violence to the present Establishment, while Her Majesty has the Possession, and while that Life lasts, to which they are so much Indebted for Her Royal Goodness and Clemency. *But what would they do, if the Queen should die?*

Come we next to the *French King*. We are told, that not the *French King* only, but even the whole *French Nation* are wonderfully forward to acknowledge the Obligation they are under, to the Justice and Favour which they have Received from Her Majesty, in the putting an End to

Occasion they will, tho' it may not follow that the Ministry are therefore for *the Pretender*, yet it does not also follow that there is no Danger of the Protestant Succession from the Employing those sort of People: *For what if the Queen should Die?*

The Ministry, it is hoped, are Established in the Interest of their Queen and Country; and therefore it has been Argued, that supposing the Ministry had the Pretender in their Eye, yet that it is Irrational to suggest that they can have any such View during the Life of Her present Majesty. Nay, even those profest *Jacobites*, who we spoke of just now, cannot be so ungrateful to think of Deposing the Queen, who has been so Bountiful, so Kind, so exceeding Good to them, as in several Cases to suffer them to be brought into the Management of Her own Affairs, when by their Character they might have been thought Dangerous, even to Her Person; thus Winning and Engaging them by Her Bounty, and the Confidence that has been plac'd in them, not to Attempt any thing to Her prejudice, without the most Monstrous Ingratitude, without flying in the Face of all that Sense of Honour and Obligation, which it is possible for Men of common Sense to entertain.

And it can hardly be thought, that even Papists themselves under the highest possessions of their Religious Zeal, can Conquer the Native Aversions they must have to such abominable Ingratitude, or to think of bringing in the Pretender upon this Protestant Nation, even while the Queen shall be on the Throne. But tho' this may, *and some doubt that also*, tye up their Hands during the Queen's Life, yet they themselves give us but small Reason to expect any thing from them afterwards; and it will be hard to find any body to Vouch for them then. These very *Jacobites, Papists*, and profest Enemies to the Revolution may be supposed upon these Pretentions to be Quiet, and offer no Violence to the present Establishment while Her Majesty has the Possession, and while that Life lasts, to which they are so much Indebted for Her Royal Goodness and Clemency. *But what would they do, if the Queen should die?*

Come we next to the *French King*. We are told, that not the *French King* only, but even the whole *French Nation* are wonderfully forward to acknowledge the Obligation they are under, to the Justice and Favour which they have Received from Her Majesty, in the putting an End to

the War; a War which lay Heavy upon them, and Threaten'd the very Name of the *French Nation* with Ruin, and much more Threatn'd the Glory of the *French Court*, and of their Great Monarch with an entire Overthrow, a total Eclipse. A War, which by their own Confession, it was Impossible for them long to have supported the Expences of, and which by the great Superiority of the *Allies*, became Dreadful to them, and that every Campaign more than other; a War which they were in such Pain to see the End of, that they tried all the Powers and Courts in Christendom, who were the least Neutral, to Engage a Mediation in order to a Treaty, and all in vain; and a War, which if Her Majesty had not Enclin'd to put an End to, must have Ended perhaps to the Disadvantage, and Confusion of both *France* and *Spain*, if not of all Christendom. The Obligations the *French* are under for the bringing this War to so just and Honourable a Conclusion, are not at all Concealed. Nay, the *French* themselves have not been backward to make them publick. The Declarations made by the *French King* of his Sincerity in the Overtures made for a General Peace, the Protestations of his being resolved to Enter into an entire Confidence, and a League Of-

Offensive and Defensive with the Queen's Majesty, for the Preservation of the Peace of Christendom, his Recognition of Her Majesty's just Right to the Crown, his entring into Articles to preserve the Union, acknowledging the Ninth Electorate in favour of the House of *Hanover*, and joining in the Great Affair of the Protestant Succession. As these all convince the World of the Necessity his Affairs were reduced to, and the great Advantages accruing to him by a Peace; so they seem to be so many Arguments against our Fears of the *French* entring into any Engagements against the Crown of *Britain*, much less any against the Possession of the Queen during her Life. Not that the Honour and Sincerity of the King of *France* is a Foundation fit for her Majesty or her People to have any Dependance upon; and the Fraction of Former Treaties by that Court when the Glory of that Monarch, or his particular Views of things has dictated such Opportunity to him as he thought fit to close with, are due Cautions to us all not to have any Dependance of that kind. But the State of his Affairs, and the Condition the War has reduced him to, may give us some Ground to think our selves safe on that side. He knows

what

what Power he has taken off from his Enemies in making Peace with Her Majesty; he knows very well with what loss he sits down, how his Affairs are weaken'd, and what need he has to take Breath after so terrible a War; besides the Flame such an Action would kindle again in *Europe*; how it would Animate this whole *British* Nation against him, in such a manner, and Endanger bringing in a new War, and perhaps a new Confederacy upon him so vindictively, and that before he would be in a Condition to Match them; that no one can reasonably suppose the *French* King will run the hazard of it. And these things may Tend to make some People easier than Ordinary in the Affair of the Succession, believing that the *French* King stands in too much need of the Favour of the Queen of *Great Britain*, whose Power is well behoves him to keep in Friendship with him, and whose Nation he will be very Cautious of provoking a third time, as he has already done twice to his fatal Experience. All these things we say, may seem pretty well to assure us that nothing is to be feared on that side so long as Her Majesty lives to sit upon the *British* Throne. But all leaves our Grand Question unanswered, and tho' we may Argue strongly for the *French* King's Conduct while the present Reign con-

continues, yet few will say, *What he will do if the Queen should die?* Nay, we may even mention the *Pretender* himself, if he has any about him whose Councils are fit to be Depended upon, and can Direct him to make a Wise and prudent Judgment of his own Affairs; if he Acts by any Scope of Policy, and can take his Measures with any foresight; most easie it is for them to see that it must be in vain for him to think of making any Attempt in *Britain*, during the Life of the Queen; or to expect to Despose Her Majesty, and set himself up. The *French* Power, upon which he has already in vain Depended, as it has not hitherto been able to serve him, or, his Father; but that their Exile has continued now above Twenty four Years. So much less can he be able to Assist him now while he has been brought as it were to Kneel to the *British* Court, to put an End for him to this cruel destructive War; The Reason is just spoken to, (*viz.*) that this would be to rekindle that Flame, which he has gotten so lately Quenched, and which Cost him so much Art, so much Management, so much Submission to the *Allies* to Endeavour the Quenching of before. To Attack the Queen of *Great Britain* now in behalf of the *Pretender*, would not only be in the highest Degree

Un-

Ungrateful, Perfidious, and Dishonourable; but would for ever make the *British* Court as well as the whole Nation, his Violent and Implacable Enemies; but would also Involve him again in a new War with all *Europe*, who would very gladly Fall in again with *Britain* to pull down more Effectually the *French* Power, which has so long been a Terror to its Neighbours. So that the *Pretender* can Expect no Help from the King of *France*. As to what the *Pope*, the *Spaniard*, and a few petty *Popish* Powers, who might pretend upon a Religious prospect to Assist him, and with whose Aid, and the Assistance of his Party here, he may think fit to hazard an Attempt here for the Crown; it is Evident, and his own Friends will agree in it, that while the Queen lives, it is Nonsence, and Ridiculous for them to Attempt it; that it would immediately Arm the whole Nation against them, as one Man; and in Humane probability, it would; like as his supposed Father was serv'd at the Revolution be the Ruin of his whole Interest, and blow him at once quite out of the Nation. I believe that there are very few who Alarm themselves much with the Fears of the *Pretender*, from the Apprehension of his own strength from Abroad, or from his own Party and Friends

at

at Home here, were they once ſure that he ſhould receive no Aſſiſtance from the King of *France*. If then the King of *France* cannot be reaſonably ſuppoſed either to be Inclin'd, or be in a Conditon to Appear for him, or Act in his behalf during the Life of the Queen; neither can the Pretender, *ſay ſome*, unleſs he is reſolved to Ruin all his Friends, and at laſt to Ruin himſelf, make any Attempt of that Kind during Her Majeſty's Life. *But what if the Queen ſhould die?*

Having then View'd the ſeveral Points of the Nation's Compaſs, whence our Danger of *Jacobite* Plots, and Projects againſt the Proteſtant Succeſſion may be expected to come; Let us now Enquire a little of the State of the Nation, that we make a right Eſtimate of our Condition, and may know what to truſt to in Caſes of Difficulty, as they lye before us. In doing this, as well to avoid giving offence to the People now in Power, as to the Entring into the Quarrels which Engage the preſent contending Parties in this Divided Nation; we ſhall allow, however ſome may think fit to Queſtion it, the main Debate; and Grant this for the preſent as a Fundamental, (*viz.*) *That we are in no Danger* of the Pretender, *during this Queen's Reign, or during this Miniſtry's Adminiſtration*

ſtration under Her Majeſty; and avoiding all Contention of that Kind, ſhall allow our Condition to be *SAFE* in every Article as we go along, *for ſo long as the Queen Lives*, referring the Obſervation of things in every Head, to thoſe who can Anſwer the main Queſtion in our Title, (*viz.*) *But what if the Queen ſhould die?*

Firſt of all, it may be Noticed, that the preſent Safety of this Nation, whether we reſpect Liberty, Religion, Property, or publick Safety and Proſperity, Depends upon this one Fundamental, (*viz.*) That *alluding reverently to that Text of Scripture*, we are all built upon the Foundation of the late Revolution, *Eſtabliſht Law* and *Right*, being the *chief Corner-Stone*. By this it is, that Her Majeſty is made our Queen, the Entail of the Crown being reſerv'd in the remainder to Her Majeſty in the Act of Settlement made at the filling up the vacant Throne, and by all thoſe ſubſequent Acts, which Her Majeſty's Title was Confirm'd by, during the Life of the Late King. *This Revolution*, is that upon which the Liberties and Religion of this Nation, were Re-built after the Conflagration that was made of them in the Calamitous Times of King *Charles* II. and King *James* II.

and

and from hence to the Love of Liberty, which is found almost to be Naturally plac'd in the Hearts of true *Britains*; and upon the View whereof they have acted all along in the Late War, and in all their Transactions at Home has obtained the Title of a *REVOLUTION PRINCIPLE*. Noting this then, as above, that Her Majesty is our Queen by vertue of the Revolution, and that during Her Reign, that Establishment alone must be the Foundation of all Her Administration; this must effectually Secure us against any Apprehension that the Persons acting under Her Majesty, can Act in behalf of the *Pretender*, during Her Majesty's Life; for that they must immediately Overthrow the Throne, Turn the Queen out of it, and Renounce the Revolution, upon which Her Majesty's Possession is Established: As the Revolution therefore is the Base upon which the Throne of Her Majesty's Possession is Established; so her Majesty, and all that Act under her, are obliged to Act upon the Foot of the said Revolution, even *Will* they, *Nil* they; or else they sink immediately out of rightful Power to Act at all; Her Majesty's Title would fall to the Ground, their own Commissions would from that Hour be Void; they must Declare their Royal Mistress,

ſtreſs and Benefactreſs, a Subject to the *Pretender*, and all Her Pretences of Rightful Poſſeſſion, Injurious, and an Uſurpation. Theſe things being ſo plain, that he that runs may read them, ſeem to ſtop all our Mouths from ſo much as any Suggeſtion, that any Body can Attempt to bring in the *Pretender* upon us during the the Life of Her preſent Majeſty. *But what if the Queen ſhould die?*

Subſequent to the Revolution, many Eſſential things are form'd by our Parliaments and Government for the publick Good, on the Foundation of which much of the preſent Peace of the Nation is Founded; and while the ſaid Revolution Foundation ſtands faſt, there is good Ground to believe thoſe Eſſential Points ſhall be preſerved. If then we are ſatisfied that the Revolution Principle ſhall ſubſiſt as long as the Queen Lives, then for ſo long we may have good Ground to believe we ſhall Enjoy all thoſe Advantages and Benefits which we received from the ſaid Revolution. But ſtill when we look back upon thoſe dear Privileges, the obtaining of which has Coſt ſo much Money, and the Maintaining of which has Coſt ſo much Blood, we muſt with a deep Sigh reflect upon the precarious Circumſtances of the Nation, whoſe beſt

Pri-

Privileges hang uncertain upon the Nice and tender Thread of Royal Mortality, and say, we are happy while these last, and these may last while Her Majesty shall Live. *But what if the Queen should die?*

Let us Descend to some other Particulars of those Blessings which we do Enjoy purely as the Effect of the Revolution, and Examin in what Posture we stand, with respect to them, and what Assurance we have of their Continuance? And First, as to *TOLERATION*. This was the Greatest and first Blessing the Nation felt after the immediate Settlement of the Crown, which was Established by Vertue of the Revolution Engagement, mentioned in the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration. The Design of this Law, as it was to give Liberty for the Worship of God to such Dissenters as could not Conform to the Church of *England*, and to give Ease to tender Consciences, so as by the Law it self is expressed; it was to Ease the Minds of their Majesty's Subjects, and to give general Quiet to the Nation, whose Peace had been frequently Disturbed by the violence of Persecution. We have seen frequent Assurances given of the Inviolable Preservation of this Toleration by Her Majesty from the Throne in Her Speeches

to

to the Parliament; and during Her Majesty's Reign, we have great Reason to hope the Quiet of the poor People shall not be broken by either repealing that Law, or Invading the Intent and Meaning of it while it remains in Force; and there is a great many Reasons to hope that the present Ministry are so far Convinc'd of the Necessity of the said Toleration in order to preserve the Peace and the common Neighbourhood of People, that they can have no Thought of Breaking in upon it; on any Way making the People, who Enjoy it, uneasie. Nay, the rather we believe this because the Ferment such a Breach would put the whole Nation into is not the safest Condition the Government can be in upon any Account; And as the Ministry cannot be supposed to desire to give Uneasiness and Provocation to the Commons, but rather to keep them Easie and Quiet, and prevent the Enemies of the present Management from having any Handle to take hold of to foment Distractions, and Disturbances among the People; It cannot be thought that they will push at the Toleration, so as to deprive the People of so Considerable a Thing. But after the present happy Establishment, shall have received such a Fatal Blow, as that will be of the Queen

Dear

Death; and when Popish Pretenders, and *French* Influencies shall prevail, it may well be expected then, that not Toleration of Dissenters only, but even of the whole Protestant Religion may be in danger to be Lost; so that however secure we are of the free Enjoyment of Liberty of Religion during the Queen's Life, we may be very well allow'd to ask this Question with respect to not Toleration only, but the Church of *England* also, (*viz.*) what will become of them, *If the Queen should die*?

From Toleration in *England*, come we to the Constitution of Religious Affairs in *Scotland*; and here we have different Views from what the Case in *England* affords us; the powerful Interest of Jacobitism, if it may be said to be Formidable any where, is so there. The Enemies of the Revolution are all the Implacable Enemies of the Church Establishment there; Nay, many Thousands are the declared Enemies of the Revolution, and of the Queen's being upon the Throne, from a meer Implacable Aversion to the *Presbyterian Kirk*, which is Erected, and Established by that very Revolution which has set the Queen upon the Throne. The *Union*, which has yet farther Establish'd that *Prebeterian Kirk*, is for that Reason the Aversion of the

same

ſame People, as it is the Averſion of the *Jacobites*, by being a further Confirmation of the *Hannover* Succeſſion, and a further Fixing the Queen upon the Throne. Now as *it is ſure*, that *as before*, while the Queen Lives, and the Revolution Influence carries its uſual Force in the Kingdoms now United, the *Preſbyterian Kirk* muſt and will remain, and all the little Encroachments which have been made upon the *Kirk*, as it may be obſerved, tho' they have created Uneaſineſs enough, yet they ſtill ſeem to ſuppoſe that the Eſtabliſhment it ſelf cannot be overthrown. The Union and the Revolution Settlement remain in *Scotland*, and muſt remain, as is ſaid: While the Queen Lives we can have no Apprehenſions of them: The Reaſons are given above; and as we ſaid before, we are to take them for granted in this Diſcourſe, to avoid other Cavils. While then the Revolution, and the Union are to be the Foundation of the Adminiſtration in *Scotland*, the *Preſbyterian* Eſtabliſht Church Government there muſt alſo remain as the only Legal *Kirk* Conſtitution, and ſo long we can Entertain no Fears of any thing on that Account. *But what if the Queen ſhould die?*

From

From such Religious Concerns as effect *Presbyterians*, and other Sectaries, or *Dissenters*, as we call them; let us take a look at the present Danger of the Church of *England*. We have had a great deal of Discourse in the time of the late Ministry, about the Danger of the Church; and as it appears by the *Memorial* of the Church of *England*, published in those times, and Reprinted since, by the Sermons of Dr. *Sacheverell*, and the eminent Speeches at his Trial, that Danger was more especially suggested to come from the Increase of *Dissenters* here, the Ministry of the *Whigs*, and the Establishing *Presbyterianism* in the North of *Britain*. These things being in a great Measure now overthrown by the late Change of the Ministry, and the new Methods taken in the Managements of the publick Affairs; the People, who were then supposed to Aim at overthrowing the Ministry of those *Whigs* are pleased to assure us of the Safety and flourishing Condition of the Church, now more than ever; while the other Party, taking up the like Cry of the Danger of the Church, tell us, that now a real visible appearance of Danger to the Church is before us; and that not only to the Church of *England* as such, but even to the whole Interest, and Safety of,

the Protestant Religion in *Britain*; that this Danger is imminent, and unavoidable from the great Growth and Encrease of *Popery*, and profest *Jacobitism* in the Nation. This indeed they give but too great Demonstrations of from the spreading of Popish Agents among us, whose profest Employment it is to Amuse, and Impose upon the poor Country People, as well in Matters of *Jacobitism*, as of Religion; and the great Success these Emissaries of Satan have obtain'd in several Parts of *Britain*; but especially in the North. Now tho' we cannot but acknowledge, that much of this Alarm is justly Grounded, and that the Endeavours of *Popish* and *Jacobite* Agents, and Emissaries in diverse Parts of *Britian*, are too apparently Successful; yet as wise Men could never see into the reality of such Danger, as was by some People pretended to be Impending over the Church in the Time of the late Ministry; So neither can we allow that Popery is so Evidently at the Door at this Time, as that we should be Apprehensive of having the Church of *England* immediately Transversid, and the Protestant Religion in *Britain*: And one great Reason for this Opinion is, that Her Majesty, who is a Zealous Professor of the Protestant Religion, and has been Bred up in the Bosom of the

Church

Church of *England*, is so Rooted in Principle, and has Declared from Her very Infancy such Horror and Aversion to Popery, that it cannot Enter into any true Protestant Thoughts to apprehend any thing of that Kind, while Her Majesty lives. But Lord have Mercy upon us what if the Queen should die?

From Religious Matters, come we next to consider Civil Interest, Liberties, Privileges, Properties; the Great Article that in the late Revolution, went always Coupled in the Nation's Negative, with that of Religion, as if they were woven together; and was always Cry'd upon by the Mob in one Breath, (*viz.*) No *Popery*, no *Slavery*. The first of these concerns our Civil Interest; such as the Publick Credit, by the Occasions of a long and Expensive War, and to prevent Levying severe Taxes for the Carrying on the War, such as would be Grievous to Trade, Oppressive to the Poor, and Difficult to be Paid. The Parliament for the Ease of the Subjects, thought fit, rather to lay Funds of Interest to raise Money upon, by way of Loan; Establishing those Interests, payable as Annuities, and Annual Payments for the Benefit of those who Advanc'd their Money for the publick Service. And to

make these things Current, that the publick Credit might be Sacred, and the People be made free to Advance their Money; all possible Assurances of Parliament have been given, that the Payments of Interests and Annuities shall be duly punctually, and Exactly according to the Acts of Parliament, that no Misapplications of the Money shall be made, or Converting the Money received upon one, to make good the Deficiency of the other; and hitherto the Injunctions of that Kind have been exactly observ'd, and the Payments punctually made, which supports the Credit of the Nation. At the first of the late Change, when the New Ministry began to Act, the Frights the People were put in upon the Suggestion of some, that all the Parliamentary Funds should be wiped off with a Spunge, was very Considerable; and the Credit of those Funds sunk Exceedingly, with but the bare Apprehension of such a Blow; the Sums being Infinitely great, and the Number of Indigent Families being Incredibly many whose whole Substance lay in those Securities, and whose Bread depended upon those Interests being punctually Paid: But wiser Men saw quickly there was no Ground for those Fears; that the New Ministry stood upon a Foot that could no

more be Supported without the publick Credit, than those that went before them; that Especially while they were under a Necessity of Borrowing further Sums, they believed to Secure the punctual Paying of the Old; and by making the People entirely Easie, not only take from them the Apprehensions they were under of Losing what they Lent already, but make them forward, and willing to Advance more to this Purpose. They not only Endeavoured to give the People all possible Satisfaction that their Money was Safe, and that the Funds laid by the Parliament in the former Ministry, should be kept Sacred, and the Payments punctually made; but took care to obtain Parliamentary Securities, by Legal Funds to be Settled for the Payment of those Debts contracted by the former Ministry; and for which no Provision was made before. This was the Establishment of a Fund for Payment of the Interests of the Navy Debt, Ordnance, Victualling, Transport, &c. to the Value of Seven or Eight Millions; which is the Substance of what we now call the South-Sea Stock. By this means the publick Credit, which it was Suggested, would receive such a Blow at the Change, as that it should never recover again; and that it would be Impossible for the New Ministry

stry to Raise any needful Sums of Money for the Carrying on the War, or for the publick Occasions, recovered so self so as that the Government has ever since found it Safe to Borrow what ever Sums they thought fit to Demand in the same manner as before. Now that these Loans are Safe, no Man that weighs the Circumstances of the Ministry and Government, and the Circumstances of the People, can Doubt; the first being in a manner Necessity of Supporting the publick Credit for the Carrying on Publick Affairs, on any suddain Emergency that may happen; and being liable to the Resentment of Parliament, if any open Infraction should be made upon the Funds, which touches so nearly the Honour of the Parliaments, and the Interest of most of the best Families in the Nation. While this is the Case, we think it is not Rational to believe that any Ministry will venture to attack Parliamentary Credit, in such a manner; and this will Eminently be the Case as long as Her Majesty sits on the Throne. Nor can a thing so barefac'dly Tyrannical and Arbitrary, and above all Dishonourable and Unjust, be Suggested, as possible to be Attempted in the Reign of so Just and Conscientious a Prince; So that we may be very willing to allow that

there is not the least Danger of the publick Faith being Broken, the publick Credit lost, the publick Funds stopt, or the Money being Misapply'd. No Cheat, no Spunge while Her Majesty. *BUT* Alas for us! *What if the Queen should die?*

From this piece of Civil Right, come we to those Things we call Liberties, and Privileges. These may indeed be joyned in some Respects; but as we are Engag'd in speaking particularly to such Points, wherein our present Dangers do, or do not appear; It is proper to mention them apart. *Privileges* may be distinguished here from Liberties, as they respect Affairs of Trade, Corporations, Parliaments, and Legislature, *&c. Liberty*, as they respect Laws, Establishments, declared Rights, and such like. As to the first, from the Revolution to this Time they have not only been Confirm'd, which we had before; but many Privileges added to the People; Some of which are Essential to the well being of the Kingdom. All the *Quo Warranto's* against Corporation Privileges, the High Commission Court against the Church's Privileges extending Prerogative in Detriment of the Subjects natural Right; and many such things, which were Fatal to the Privileges of this Pro-

testant

testant Nation, were laid aside, and received their just Condemnation in the Revolution; and not so only, but the Privileges obtain'd since the Revolution by Consent of Parliament, are very considerable; such as the Toleration to this part of *Britain*, and the Establishment of the Church of *Scotland*: For the North part, in matters of Religion; such as the Triennial Election of Parliaments; In Civil Affairs, such as the several Corporations Granted upon really useful Foundations in Trade; as the *Bank Company*, &c. and such like. These and many more, which may be Named; and which these are Named only as Heads of, are Secured to us by Law; and those Laws yet again made sure to us by the Honour and Veracity of Her Majesty, and as long as Her Majesty's Life is spared to this Nation, we have great Reason to believe we shall rather Encrease than Lose our Privileges. *BUT what if the Queen should die?*

Our *LIBERTIES*, which come next in Order may be Summed up in what we call *Legal*, and *Natural* Right; or such as by the natural Consequence of a Free Nation, and a just Government; or such as by mutual Assent and Capitulation of Soveraign and Subject, are become our

Le-

Legal Right of the latter. These, needless to be Enumerated here, are Summ'd up into One; or are expresly Enacted by Statute Law, and thereby become Fundamental to the Constitution. These receive no Wound, but one of these two ways, either by open Infraction, and Contempt of Right, or by Dispensing Arbitrary Power; both of which by the many Assurances from the Throne, by the constant Jealousies of Parliaments, and the full Liberty they have more of late, than ever, taken to Examin into, and Censure Breaches of the Laws: We are very well assured shall not be Attempted in Her Majesty's time: Nay, on the contrary, the Superiority, and Influence of Parliaments over and upon the Management of publick Matters. Nay, even their Influences upon the Royal Majesty of the Soveraign, has been such, and has in such a manner Insensibly Increased of Late, that the like has never been known, or Practised in this Nation for some Ages before. We see Her Majesty declines Extending Her Perogative, either to the Detriment of Her Subjects, in Cases Civil, or Religious; and wherein it might be so Extended; nay, when even the Parliament have desir'd Her to Extend it: So that we have a great Satisfaction in the Safety of our Established Liberties, and

that no Tyrannical Arbitrary Invasions of Right shall be made during Her Majesty's Reign. *BUT what if the Queen should die?*

In like manner for our Properties, our Estates, Inheritance, Lands, Goods, Lives, Liberties, &c. These are effectually Secured by Laws of the Land, and the Sovereign in this Counrty, having no Right, but by Law to any part of the Subjects Estate, Causes that Estate to be called *PROPERTY*. The Kings and Queens of *Britain* are Monarchs limited to Act by the Laws. When they Cease to Rule by Law, the Constitution is Broken, and they become Tyrants and Arbitrary, Despotick Invaders of Right. This is Declared by the Revolution, wherein the Right of the Subject are openly, not set down only, but Claim'd, Demanded at what Justice required should be Granted to them, and as what the Soveraign as aforesaid has no Right, no Pretence, no just Authority to take, or detain from him. This is the Great Capital and Fundamental Article of *Magna Charta*, and the Foundation upon which all the Laws Subsequent, and Consequential to *Magna-Charta* have been made [No Freeman shall be Taken or Imprisoned, or be Dissetzed of

his

his Freehold, or Liberties, or Free Cuſtoms, or be Out-lawed, or Exiled, or otherwiſe Deſtroyed; nor we will not paſs upon him, nor Condemn him, but by Lawful Judgement of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land. *Magna-Charta*, Cap. xxix.] The Words are Plain and Direct; and as to the Subject, we are now upon, they require no Comment, no Explication. Whatever they do, as to Pleading in Law; the Proof of the Subject's Right to the free Poſſeſſion of his own Property, is alſo the leſs needful to Enlarge upon here, becauſe it is acknowledged in full, and expreſs Terms by the Soveraign, as well in Practiſe, as in Expreſſion. Her Majeſty adhering ſtrictly to this, as a Rule, has from the beginning of Her Reign, made it Her *Golden Rule*, to Govern according to Law. Nor while the Eſtabliſhment of the Crown it ſelf is Built upon the Legal Conſtitution of this Nation, can it be otherwiſe here: That Prince that Governs here and not by Law, may be ſaid, rather to Oppreſs, than to Govern, rather to Over-rule, than to Rule over his People. *NOW* it cannot without great and unjuſtifyable Violence to Her Majeſty's juſt Government, be Suggeſted, that we are in any Danger of Oppreſſion during the Righteous Adminiſtration of Her Majeſty's Reign. The Queen

Raiſes no Money without Act of Parliament, keeps up no Standing Army in time of *Peace*, Diſ-ſeizes no Man of his Property, or Eſtate; but every Man Sits in Safety under his own Vine, and his Fig-tree; and we doubt not but we ſhall do as long as Her Majeſty Lives. *BUT what if the Queen ſhould die?*

Poſſibly Cavils may Riſe in the Mouths of thoſe whoſe Conduct this Nice Queſtion may ſeem to Affect, that this is a Queſtion unfit to be asked, and Queſtionleſs ſuch People will have much to ſay upon that Subject; as that it is a Factious Queſtion, a Queſtion Needleſs to be Anſwered, and Impertinent therefore to be askt; that it is a Queſtion which reſpects things remote, and ſerves only to fill the Heads of the People with Fears and Jealouſies; that it is a Queſtion, to which no direct Anſwer can be given, and which Suggeſts ſtrange Surmiſes, and amuſes People about they know not what, and is of no uſe, but to make People uneaſie without Cauſe.

As there is no Objection, which is Material enough to make, but is Material enough to Anſwer; ſo this, altho' there is nothing of Subſtance in it, may

In-

Introduce ſomething in its Anſwer of Subſtance enough to conſider: It is therefore moſt neceſſary to Convince the conſidering Reader of the Uſefulneſs and Neceſſity of putting this Queſtion; and then likewiſe the Uſefulneſs, and Neceſſity of putting this Queſtion *NOW* at this time; and if it appear to be both a needful Queſtion it ſelf, and a ſeaſonable Queſtion, as to time the reſt of the Cavils againſt, it will deſerve the leſs regard. That it is a needful Queſtion, ſeems juſtified more abundantly from a very great Example, to wit, the Practiſe of the whole Nation, in Settling the Succeſſion to the Crown. This I take to be nothing elſe, but this: The Queen having no Iſſue of Her Body, and the Pretender to the Crown being Expelled by Law, Included in his Father's Diſaſtrous Flight, and Abdication; when the Parliament came to Conſider of the State of the Nation, as to Government as it now ſtands; that King *William* being lately Dead, and Her Majeſty with univerſal Joy of Her People, being reciev'd as Queen, the Safety, and the laſting Happineſs of the Nation is ſo far Secur'd. *BUT what if the Queen ſhould die?*

The Introduction to all the Acts of Parliaments for Settling the Crown, Implies thus

thus much, and ſpeaks directly this Language (*viz.*) to make the Nation Safe and Eaſie, in Caſe the Queen ſhould die: Nor are any of thoſe Acts of Parliament Impeach'd of Faction, or Impertinencies; much leſs of Needleſs blaming the People, and filling their Heads with Fears and Jealouſies. If this Example of the Parliament is not enough, Juſtifying to this Enquiry the well known Truth, upon which that Example of Parliament is Grounded, is ſufficient to juſtifie it, (*viz.*) That we all known the Queen *MUST die.* None ſay, this with more Concern and Regret, than thoſe who are forwardeſt to put this Queſtion, as being of the Opinion above ſaid, that we are effectually Secured againſt the Pretender, and againſt all the terrifying Conſequences of the *Frenchify'd* Govournours during Her Majeſty's Life. But this is Evident, *the Queen is Mortal*, tho' crown'd with all that Flattering Courtiers can bring together, to make Her appear Great, Glorious, Famous, or what you pleaſe; yet the Queen, yea, the Queen Her ſelf is. *Mortal*, and *MUST die.* It is true, Kings and Queens are called Gods; but this reſpects their Sacred Power; nothing ſuppoſing and Immortallity attending their Perſons, for they all *Die* like other Men, and their Duſt knows

no

no Distinction in the Grave. Since then it is most certain that the Queen *MUST die*; and our Safety, and Happiness in this Nation depends so much upon the Stability of our Liberties, Religion, and aforesaid Dependencies after Her Majesty's Life shall End, it cannot be a Question Offensive to any who has any Concern in the Publick good, to enquire into what shall be the State of our Condition, or the Posture of our Affairs, when the Queen shall die; *but this is not all neither.* As the Queen is Mortal, and we are assured she must die; so we are none of us certain, as to be able to know when, or how soon that Disaster may happen, at what time, or in what manner. This then, as it may be remote, and not a long time; *God of his Infinite Mercy grant it may be long first, and not before this difficult Question we are upon, be Effectually and Satisfactorily Answered to the Nation:* So on the other side, it may be *near*; None of us know how *near* the fatal Blow may befal us soon, and sooner far than we may be ready; for to day it may come, while the cavilling Reader is objecting against our putting this Question, and calling it Unreasonable and Needless; while the Word is in thy very Mouth, mayest thou hear the fatal Melancholly News, *the Queen's*

Dead.

Dead. News that muſt one time, or other be heard; the Word will certainly come ſome time, or other, to be ſpoken in the preſent Senſe, and to be ſure in the time they are ſpoken in. How can any one then ſay, that it is improper to ask what ſhall be our Caſe, what ſhall we do, or what ſhall be done with us *if the Queen ſhould die?*

But we have an other Melancholy Incident, which attends the Queen's Mortality, and which makes this Queſtion more than ordinarily ſeaſonable to be ask'd at this time; and that is, that not only the Queen is Mortal, and ſhe *MUST die*, and the time uncertain; ſo that ſhe *may die*, even to Day before to Morrow, or in a very little ſpace of time: But Her Life is under God's Providence, at the Mercy of *Papiſts* and *Jacobites* People; who the one by their Principles, and the other by the Circumſtances of their Party are more than ordinarily to be Apprehended for their bloody Deſigns againſt Her Majeſty, and againſt the whole Nation. Nay, there ſeems more Reaſon to be Apprehenſive of the dangerous Attempts of theſe deſperate People, at this time, than ever, even from the very Reaſons which are given all along in this Work, for our being

being Safe in our Privileges, our Religious and Civil Rights during Her Majesty's Life; it would be mispending your time prove to that the *Papists* and *Jacobite* Parties in this Nation, however they may, as we have said, be under Tyes and Obligations of Honour, Interest, and Gratitude, *&c.* Not to make attempt upon us during the Queen's Life; yet that they are more Encouraged at this time than ever they were to hope and believe, that when the Queen shall die, their Turn stands next. This we say, we believe is lost Labour to speak of: The said People, the *Popish* and *Tory* Party will freely own and oppose it. They all take their Obligations to the Queen, to End with Her Majesty's Life. The *French King*, however in Honour, and Gratitude he may think himself bound to Encourage the *Pretender* to insult Her Majesty's Dominions, while the Queen with whom he Personally is Engaged by Treaty, shall remain alive, will think himself fully at Liberty from those Obligations when the Queen shall die. If we are misinform'd of the *French* Affairs, and of the Notions they have in *France* of these things, they are generally no otherwise understood then that the King of *France* is Engag'd by the Peace now in View, not to disturb Her Majesty's Possession during Her Reign

and Life; but that then the *Pretender's* Right is to be receiv'd every where. The *Pretender* himſelf, howſoever, as aboveſaid, he may deſpair of his Succeſs in Attempting to take Poſſeſſion during the Queen's Life, will not fail to aſſume new Hopes at Her Majeſty's Death: So much then of the hopes of *Popery* and *French* Power; ſo much of the Intereſt of the *Pretender* depending upon the ſingle Thread of Life of a Mortal Perſon; and we being well aſſur'd that they look upon Her Majeſty, only as the Incumbent in a Living, or Tenant for Life in an Eſtate, what is more Natural, than in this Caſe for us to apprehend Danger to the Life of the Queen; Eſpecially to ſuch People, who are known not to make much Conſciencies of Murthering Princes, with whom the King killing Doctrine is ſo Univerſally receiv'd, and who were ſo often Detected of villanious Practices, and Plots againſt the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*, Her Majeſty's famous Predeceſſor, and that upon the ſame Foundation, (*viz.*) The Queen of *Scots* being the *Popiſh Pretender* to the Crown; what can we expect from the ſame Party, and Men acting from the ſame Principles; but the ſame Practices. It is known that the Queen by Courſe of Nature may Live many Years, and theſe People have many Rea-

Reaſons to be Impatient of ſo much Delay. They know that many Accidents may Intervene to make the Circumſtances of the Nation at the Time of the Queen's Death, leſs favourable to their Intereſts than they are now ; they may have fewer Friends, as well in Power, as out of Power by length of time, and the like: Theſe, and ſuch as theſe Conſiderations may excite Vilanious and Murtherous Practices againſt the precious Life of our Soveraign (God protect Her Majeſty from them) but while all theſe Conſiderations ſo Naturally offer themſelves to us, it ſeems moſt Rational needful, ſeaſonable and juſt, that we ſhould be Asking and Anſwering this great Queſtion, *What if the Queen ſhould die?*

Thus far we have only asked the Queſtion it ſelf, and ſhewed our Reaſons, or Endeavoured to Juſtifie the Reaſonablneſs of the Enquiry. It follows that we make ſome brief Eſſay as an Anſwer to the Queſtion. This may be done many ways ; but the Deſign of this Tract is rather to put the Queſtion into your Thought, than to put an Anſwer into your Mouths. The ſeveral Anſwers which may be given to this Important Queſtion may not be proper for a publick Print ; and ſome may not

not be [illegible]
Question [illegible]
it be [illegible]
[illegible]ently. A [illegible]
Question among themselves
brought by thinking of the
swer it one to another. A
The People of [illegible] was
shewed what [illegible]
in, in Case of
much their
upon the Life
a State of
Sorts of
into at Her Majesty's
be not done to
Death; and if they
Majesty's Life
France, and the